

Document :

Present National and International Situation and Our Tasks

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Comrades,

We are meeting in a crucial situation in which the imperialist forces are making all out efforts to throw the burden of their capitalist crisis on to the backs of the people of world and in a situation where the Indian ruling classes are resorting to increasingly fascistic type of rule in order to implement their anti-people and anti-national policies and dividing the people on caste, communal and regional basis to blunt the fighting spirit of the people. This is creating challenging conditions under which the Communist Revolutionaries have to work to awaken the people as well as create conducive atmosphere for the new democratic revolution. Let us resolve to take up this challenge.

International Situation :

The present situation can be described as a situation of worldwide turmoil. Globalisation process and the ideological pursuit of market economy, which its real proponent Frederick Hayek named Neo liberal Policy as far back as 1938, as the panacea to economic crisis of imperialists at the cost of weaker economies could not save them from a graver crisis. Moreover the pandemic of Covid-19 for two years attacked economy of all countries. It is a situation when the unipolar world under US hegemony is giving way to multi-polar world.

China has become an economic giant and an Asian Power during the US imperialism at the Asia-Pacific region trying to control over Indo-Pacific region as a whole. They built up a number of naval facilities along the Indian Ocean region, like Chittagong in Bangladesh, Hambantota in Sri Lanka, in the Maldives, Karachi in Pakistan, at the Horn of Africa, Sudan; which in geo-strategic parlance known as String of Pearls.

Russia which, though without losing its position as military superpower, had been facing grave economic as well as political crisis after the disintegration of Soviet Union, has recovered its economy faster than expected by the Western World. It started mending its political and economic relation with the energy starved European Union, especially Germany and France, which were not willing to abide by the elder brotherly attitude of the US in Europe.

All these created a position when the US imperialism started a two pronged attack to regain its global hegemony. First is the formation of QUAD as a politico-military alliance to

contain China. The second was Eastward expansion of NATO. From the beginning Russia has been opposing it, but it went on. But finally Russia declared it must not include Ukraine. The US had already engineered a "regime change" there through Euro-maidan movement, had found its moves in Iran and Syria to be nullified due to Russian opposition, and France and Germany getting close to Russia pressed the button of Ukraine asking for EU and NATO membership. They armed Ukraine to the teeth and knew Russia would have to go for military option than losing its only access to warm water port through Black Sea and the Ajoov Sea. So after much diplomatic moves for a long time, at the behest of the US Ukraine declined to go by Minsk II agreement. This created a situation which caused Russia to attack Ukraine. Its true that Russia has aggressed Ukraine, but another truth is that joining NATO is not a sovereign will of Ukraine which the US propaganda machinery and the media at its service are bent to make the people of the world to believe. So the war that is carried on by the US along with NATO using Ukraine as proxy versus Russia is not a butchery carried by Russia, but a bitchery between the US and Russia causing huge carnage in Ukraine and Russia and also impacting the lives and livelihood of people of the world. So there is no question of balancing by raising the bogey of sovereignty of Ukraine, a clever method by the US propagandists to create empathy of the democracy loving people. What is going on is an imperialist war, though limited in a geographically small area, and one side is fighting with all its resources even the most modern armaments except direct involvement.

Of late Sri Lanka has experienced an unprecedented wave of mass discontent. This happened due to the persuasion of economic restructuring prescribed by the Troika (IMF-World Bank- WTO), which brought the agriculture and tea industry to almost ruination. Added to this was world-wide COVID pandemic that brought tourism industry to halt. Since one of the 'pearls of the string', Hambantota port developed by China as a countervailing power to the US naval presence in the Indian Ocean is located in Sri Lanka, this country was picked out to teach a lesson by the US imperialists. In this situation the Ukraine war had its effect on Sri Lanka like many other countries. Price of petrol and petroleum products started literally sky rocketing causing price of all essential goods jumping higher and higher. The government faced complete ruin of economy of its own making at the advice of external forces who denied to come up with any help. Rather they started haranguing that the country has fallen into the debt-trap by China while Chinese debt was not more than 10% of the total debt. The protesting people marched into the Presidential residence forcing him run out for life. Finally the unrest ended up with a "regime change". India, at the behest of the US, declared a sizable help package as an effort to get the country out of Chinese influence. But the arrival of a Chinese naval ship created some noise by the US controlled media.

Pakistan has experienced another regime change at the behest of the US imperialists to offset its relationship with China. Imran Khan who had to abdicate his position of Prime Minister squarely blamed that some external forces had been active in the conspiracy of unsitting him. He just stopped naming the persons involved and the external forces in concrete terms, though it was clear to others. Within a short period Pakistan is facing a grave economic crisis.

With these words let us examine and analyse the present international situation as envisaged in our Party Programme and find out the tasks ahead.

According to our Party Programme 'the contradictions in the international level' are as follows:

1. The contradiction between imperialism and the oppressed nations and people of the world.
2. The contradiction between capital and labour,
3. The contradiction among the imperialist countries and among the monopoly groups.
4. The contradiction between imperialism and socialism."

We shall try to be as brief as possible in the discussion. Moreover, for reasons which would be obvious we would like to change the order while discussing. We shall also avoid to make the document burdened with statistical data which often needs elaborate explanation without which can be counter-argued with some other data, so that it becomes a document for the comrades of the working class, not dissertation for so called 'argumentative' intelligentsia."

A. Contradiction among imperialist countries and among the monopoly groups.

At the outset, one important point must be kept in the mind that even though a number of countries have emerged with nuclear weapons in their arsenal, still now the real contending nuclear powers are the USA and Russia. After the collapse of the erstwhile Soviet social imperialism, Russia has inherited the nuclear armoury and remained military super power.

Russia has survived the grave economic pitfall it fell after the misadventures in Afghanistan, North Africa and South East Asia that caused huge expenditure and created grave crisis. At one time, it was thought that Russia would not be able to overcome it. But thanks to self-reliant industrial and agricultural base developed during its socialist era led by the CPSU under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, the capitalist Russia could survive the disaster and had a turn around with an effort to regain the past portion of the USSR in the geo-politics.

The United States is deceiving its closest allies in Europe and trying its greedy act to bring in Ukraine into NATO and the EU. Russia, which opposes the move, wants to thwart US efforts by invading Ukraine. The United States, Britain, and a few other European countries without directly interfering abandoned Ukraine by providing it with sophisticated weapons. US imposes the most stringent economic sanctions on Russia, at the same time Russia is launching inhumane and vicious attacks on Ukraine. As a result, the war continues.

Till recent times the NATO is in troubles. The dream of hope to overcome economic crisis through globalisation has shattered. Reason is very clear when consumption of commodities of all varieties are shrinking all over the world continuously the tactic of opening for financial market or exporting capital to the third world countries with cheap labour did not work, rather it created the situation more complex. In this situation military adventurism should be avoided as much as possible. Post world war- II experience has shown that any military adventure east of Suez has turned to be counterproductive for the West European countries. The West led by the US imperialist tried a new tactic of futuristic

trade and so called venture capital to boost up economy through artificial manner. But that also failed to work, rather created greater imbalance and economic jeopardy aggravating the crisis. NATO's attempts in dragging European countries were in vain. US conspiring plot to drag European nations into the war in Ukraine through NATO have backfired on NATO and the United States. But after the Russia-Ukraine war the NATO is being strengthened, by neutral states Switzerland, Finland joining in the NATO as members.

The experience of Iraq, has taught Western Europe that getting entangled in any long drawn war at the behest of the USA, might give the US military industry a longer lease of life, but caused immense political and economic difficulties in their own countries. So now when the US is trying to draw its Western allies in its adventurous advance in Iran, Germany and the UK have squarely declined to be part of that adventure. Other NATO allies of EU are also remaining non-committal. After the Russia-Ukraine war, Germany, France etc have considerably increased their military budgets, with a futuristic view of providing better defence of their countries.

On the other hand, China and Russia opposed the steps taken by the USA. On Iran, the USA became isolated. At the face of US embargo, Iran, as a countermove, warned it would not allow ships of the US and its allies beyond Hormuz strait. So impatient the US became when a British oil tanker was surrounded by Iran's naval guards, the US declared that Britain would look after how to get out of it. While writing this document high drama is carried on the question of drone attacks on Saudi Arabian oil interests. Although the Houthis i.e. Ansar Allah a political and armed movement led by Zaidi sect of Islam, though a section of Sunnis are also there, with their main base amongst the Houthi tribes in Yemen, claimed the responsibility of the attack, the US carried propaganda that Iran was behind the drone attack. Iran denied and US had to become silent. At the same time USA had to back out from Syria, which is being discussed in the next para. This created a situation that Iran has declared that it would produce more uranium.

In Syria, the US started a proxy war with ISIS as their agents. Syria took a strong position and Russia not only stood by the side of Syrian president Assad, but also sent troops. Russia warned the US of any conspiracy of 'regime change' in Syria. The US stepped back but had to send a few troops where the ISIS was being thrown out by the Kurd liberation forces. It was in the Turkey border. Turkey sent forces to get rid of Kurd base at its border. Finally, in an area which is under Syria, Turkey and Russia made a pact that the area will be buffer zone, where neither the ISIS nor Kurds will be allowed, only refugees would be resettled there. US had to turn into silent spectator and withdraw its forces. The situation brought to the fore the strength of Kurd movement.

Meanwhile, the US imperialists started strengthening their position in the Asia-Pacific Region and the Indian Ocean. They allied with Australia, Japan, India, New Zealand, the Philippines and some other smaller countries like South Korea. At the face of it, China felt its geo-political interests as well as its own security were at stake and made a loud and clear statement that South China Sea is an area of its core interest. China, in its bid to become an Asian power, had already developed a 'string of pearls' in the Indian Ocean and its proximity en route South China Sea by building ports and naval facilities in Sri Lanka,

Bangladesh, Pakistan etc. Above all in a countermove to Diego Garcia, it has developed a naval base in the Seychelles and Sudan.

In this situation on July 5, 2019, the US senate passed a law to give India the status at par with NATO-allies and countries like South Korea, Japan and Israel for increasing defence co-operation. Presently US is wooing India, to totally fall in its line, by saying that India is its strategic partner in world affairs. This clearly is a move to give a concrete shape through a stamp of recognition from the US Senate of a military alliance in India-Pacific region.

In short, India-Pacific Region has in recent years turned into a hot-spot, because more than 60% of world's oil trade is carried on this route.

Under such situation, economic standoff between the US and China on the trade barriers pushed by the US by increasing tariffs at first, and immediate Chinese action in response caused huge tension. It affected economy of both the countries, even had its effect on world share market. US tried to assure its people that this had strong effect on China, and China would have to withdraw the tariff barrier, the industrialists of the US who have invested in China and who had been carrying trade with China came out with strong opposition to the US policy. This brought to the fore the contradiction between the South Rim (the military establishment and industry) and this proves the correctness of our programme which added the words 'and among the monopoly groups' along with 'contradiction among the imperialist countries'. This can also be found in the infights for merger of one or more well known brands or industrial giants.

Now let us move to **the contradiction between capital and labour which is continually intensifying both in the industrially developed capitalist countries and the developing and underdeveloped third world countries.** The more the crisis of the capitalist system is getting deeper (we have earlier discussed how this is getting aggravated) the more intensified is the contradiction. Even in countries like the US industries in the North are facing such crisis that large scale closure of industries has turned the industrial hubs to 'ghost towers' as termed by the people. Workers of the General Motors, employees of British Airways, the railwaymen of France went on strike. Here in India the industrial strike mobilised millions of workers. Workers in the Gig economy (part time workers, freelancers, contract workers, delivery personnel etc) are coming together and forming unions to achieve their rights against any kind of discrimination, pressures and threats. Workers' strikes are intensifying in UK, Germany, South Korea, Italy, France and in almost all capitalist countries for better working conditions and for decent wages.

To get out of crisis the reactionaries all over the world are not only trying to suppress the movements but also sow the seeds of poisonous ideologies of racism, anti-Semitism, anti immigrant ideas among those workers who have lost the jobs and the unemployed youth. Throughout Europe and the US the anti-immigrant ideas are being peddled among the workers to make them believe that the immigrants are robbing off their jobs, as if the unemployment is not due to the crisis of capitalism. Only a few years ago Mexicans were most welcome community by US Capital to provide cheap labour. And now one of the most heinous policies of the US is to drive out the Mexicans and build up a huge wall at the border. A small section of the workers, or ordinary people get fooled by the propaganda and when

incidents like *El Paso* happen. But as the saying goes—you cannot fool all the people for all the time, the real motive is getting unmasked everyday and oppressed workers are on the move.

Next comes **the contradiction between imperialism and oppressed nations and oppressed people of the world**. Even after many ups and downs of liberation struggles and revolutionary movements of the world, this is the principal contradiction in the international arena.

True, since 1980s because of lack of presence of any socialist state as an example before the oppressed peoples', revolutionary movements faced great difficulties, but "where there is oppression, there shall be resistance"; and once the proletariat has developed as a class it has become the responsibility of the proletariat to lead the masses forward to revolution. So in the third world countries, revolutionary struggles under the leadership of the proletariat are being developed, may be slowly, but steadily. After the introduction of the policy of globalisation, the onslaught against the people took its worst form, unemployment, squalor, loss of jobs, death due to hunger, hate campaign to satisfy one community against another are also the conspiracies to divide the people. But people started fighting the powers of globalisation. The exponents of neo-liberal capitalist economic and political ideology and theory tried to mislead the people. Some talked about "globalisation with a human face", some have tried to convince that globalisation is a necessary phenomenon but there is an alternative method of achieving it. But people gathered experiences from their own struggle and started fighting it more determinedly.

In India, thousands and lakhs of people are coming up against the imperialist conspiracy to rob them of their rights to land, water and forests. Sometimes it takes a bloody turn by facing the armed forces of the state.

Neighbouring Bangladesh also finds itself in the thick of the movement of the workers and peasants.

Two of our neighbouring countries are facing a critical situation. In Pakistan a political crisis emerged with Imran Khan aligning with the China-Russia alliance and denied the US imperialists to build a military base in Pakistan. Moreover on the Ukraine issue it sided with Russia. So some sort of "regime change" took place in Pakistan. Because of the economic jeopardy already present there pro-US forces could stage-manage it with ease.

In Sri Lanka it is somewhat different. Sri Lanka had taken some soft loans and also some loan to build infrastructure from China. One of them was building a port at Southern coast of the country, Hambantota, with the condition that Sri Lanka would not have to repay the loan if China was allowed to use it for trade and maritime purposes. Still Sri Lanka was in a crisis. The Troika—IMF—WORLD BANK—WTO came to assist it. Moreover, the US and India also started funding in infrastructure and agriculture. The experts of IMF, of which Vandana Shiva of India was apart, advised to switch over completely to organic agriculture. Other methods were legally banned. In this situation COVID played havoc. The greatest source of foreign exchange earning, tourism, came to a grinding halt. Tea export dwindled. Agricultural production faced a double crisis, dearth of organic fertiliser resulted in high price and low yield. The US led media started propagating that all these are due to China's "debt trap"

where as Chinese debt is only 10% of the total foreign debt. But the crisis created in the lives and livelihoods of the people forced them to take to the streets. Even a clear and sharp fissure among the ruling classes and the ruling cliques came out in the open. Where will it stop is to be seen.

In South America there is a change in government in Columbia after decades of guerrilla warfare. Communists have come to power. Now it is to be seen how far the communist party can advance in the direction of revolutionary change in society as well as economy. In Argentina the armed struggle is going on.

But actual focus has shifted to liberation struggles in the Middle East. The Palestinians are fighting against all odds and achieving success one after another. But new form of struggles developed after Afghanistan was attacked by Soviet Union. Afghanistan guerrillas were fighting against Soviet Social imperialist army. Most of these fighters were tribal people having no ideological training. The US imperialism took advantage of the situation by arming and training them, which has become now known to the world after Pakistan Prime Minister Imran Khan openly spoke about it. The US also utilized the faith in Islam with a large dose of obscurantism to motivate those guerrillas. Once Soviet army had withdrawn, the US imperialists stepped into its shoes. But a section, a strong section, who were trained and armed by the US itself started fighting the US imperialists as well. The Damon of US imperialists who once armed the guerrillas called for a 'War between two civilizations', 'War on terrorism' and so on. But the US found itself once more deeply enmeshed in the quagmire of Afghanistan. The Talibans have been waging war on and off since the United States and its allies invaded Afghanistan in 2001. The United States had no option but to withdraw from Afghanistan with the resistance of the Afghan people. However, the United States is continuing its atrocities by illegally withholding Afghan peoples' funds in American banks, disallowing rightful assistance of 450 billion SDR and pushing Afghanistan into a deeper crisis. America will plot their comeback in Afghanistan to get its geostrategic control over Central Asia.

It attacked Iraq in league with most of its NATO allies spreading lies about Saddam Hussein government. They propagated that Iraq is storing weapons of mass destruction and secretly developed nuclear weapons, even though the UN observers gave Iraq a clean chit. The US won the war but not the hearts of the Iraqi people, still the fight is going on. The US, though officially has withdrawn its army from Iraq, it kept a strong contingent army officers to guide the puppet regime.

Not taking lessons from its own creation the Al Qaeda, the US imperialists have once more created a terror group, ISIS in Syria with the avowed aim of a regime change. But all the patronization with armament and money from the US, the new outfit failed dismally in Syria. The US could not come openly since Russia stood firmly by the side of President Assad. The ISIS then started striking at different allies of EU. For US and its allies it is a terror, and for the people though directed against imperialists, these killings of innocent people are actually strengthening the hands of imperialists.

The United States and the IMF were able to successfully divert people's attention from the crisis in Haiti to the assassination of its president. The people of South Africa pushed into

turmoil by the crisis created by the capitalist system, have taken to the streets in protest to the arrest of former President Jacob Zuma.

All attempts to suppress the people by the imperialists are facing strong resistance from the people.

The US conspiracy is facing troubles. North Korea has forced the US to come to terms. The people of Venezuela are withstanding all sorts of conspiratorial activities by the US through its agents, but not yielding to imperialism.

In Nepal, after ten years of armed struggle, a new government has been elected overthrowing the King. We must support the liberation struggle of Kurds for Kurdistan which is situated in parts of Iraq, Syria and Turkey. Against all odds they are fighting and in Syrian border they created a liberated zone. Now Turkey, Russia and Syria are trying to destroy it.

Though passing through great difficulties these are the contradictions that are influencing all other contradictions. The strong and determined Iran challenging the US embargo has created a condition where the contradictions amongst the NATO allies and US are being influenced. The major countries in NATO are hesitant to play to the tunes of America.

Then comes **the contradiction between the capitalist world and forces of socialism.**

Comrades, in our programme the same contradiction is put as “Contradiction between imperialism and socialism”. That is to put the contradiction between the capitalist and socialist camp”. We had to change it – when both Russia and China abandoned socialist path, and without a powerful socialist state the idea of ‘camp’ becomes redundant. But there are socialist forces as well as small countries who call themselves socialists. Primarily all over the world, Marxist-Leninist parties have been carrying on and leading the people’s struggles to achieve socialism.

Firstly we should stand firmly by the side of those forces fighting against imperialism. At the same time we should also try to have concrete knowledge about their understandings.

After the NLD party won the 2015 general election, Aung San Suu Kyi became Myanmar’s Prime Minister. During her tenure as Prime Minister in 2017, the Myanmar army, along with local Buddhist monks, carried out a massacre of Rohingya Muslims. It continues to this day. Seven lakh Rohingya minorities fled the country to Bangladesh for refuge during the genocide. The people of Myanmar are currently defying the military dictatorship. People, workers and student leaders are protesting on the roads since the army captured Myanmar on February 1st, 2021. The army is trying to suppress the protests. The people of Myanmar must defeat the military dictatorship and at the same time not be limited to bourgeois democracy. The people must be prepared to fight for the establishment of people’s democracy and working class rule.

American imperialists have been plotting to divide Palestine on religious basis since 1948. The Palestinian people, who were facing relentless Israeli provocation and aggression for decades, have not stopped or abandoned their struggle. The Palestinians must be prepared for counter-attack with rocket-propelled grenades to stop the deadly Israeli bombings. In April 2021, 150 Palestinians were wounded in an Israeli police raid on the Al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem, 400 people were arrested and imprisoned. Recently a

Palestinian journalist Shireen Abu Akleh was killed in the occupied west bank. With US support, Israel continues to commit such atrocities, aggression, inhumane attacks, and human rights violation in Palestine.

Cuba, under the leadership of Fidel Castro with the aim of achieving socialism and communism with ideological strength of Marxism and Leninism stood against the harsh capitalist and imperialist nations. To this day, America has not given up on its evil desire to keep Cuba as its vassal state. Though United States has imposed a number of sanctions, we should take notice - of late Cuba has reached a compromise with the US and allowed large amount of US finance capital to be injected in Cuba. Future will show whether the Cuban economy can withstand the effect of US finance capital.

In North Korea, DPRK, with the objective of establishing socialism, the Workers Party of Korea under the leadership of Kim IL-Sung developed an ideological view point, famous as JUCHE. The basic tenets of JUCHE are in accord with Marxist view of Socialism. Three important aspects are to be developed. They are 1) Political independence; 2) Economic Self-reliance and 3) Military independence.

The people of Korea, the workers, peasants and intelligentsia are united behind it and so far surmounted all difficulties to march forward to their aim. Politically it has not only challenged the US on nuclear weapon question, but also started dialogue with South Korea for re-unification. This is a great achievement at a time when no powerful socialist state is there to stand in support. True, Russia and China are opposing any US move to suppress North Korea for their own geopolitical interests.

The theory and practice of United Socialist Party of Venezuela (Partido Socialista Unido de Venezuela, PSUV) is something different. Its ideology is an admixture of Marxism and left-wing nationalism. In the name of Socialism of the 21st century they practice something more akin to revisionism. PSUV's call for Bolivarian Revolution has mobilized the people such that they faced all difficulties created by conspiratorial actions of the US. There are countries like North Korea, Cuba and even Venezuela who are fighting imperialism with the banner of socialism with PSUV's own understanding.

In conclusion we find that international developments have proved the correctness of formulation of the contradictions in our Programme. We will have to work hard to put our programme into practice.

We must fight against the globalization strategy of imperialism. We must fight shoulder to shoulder with the people of the world against the neo-colonial exploitation, hegemony, bullying, expansionism and fascist attacks of the imperialists. The international working class is with us. Workers of the world unite. Let us hold the banner of Internationalism and overthrow all oppressive systems is our clarion call.

National Situation :

The BJP-led NDA government completed its full term in power at the centre in 2014 and came to power again in 2019. The BJP has stepped into existing economic and political crisis over the past few decades of the ruling classes. In India, it is serving the big bourgeoisie, Comprador class, modern landlord class and has sought to up thrust feudal culture, traditions and religious virtues. It gave slogan to establish Hindu state evoking Hindu

fundamentalism. For the protection of the bourgeoisie, modern landlord classes, feudal classes it is appeasing, suppressing the oppressed people and exploiting them in various forms and frantically brought hindutva agenda to the fore acting like a religious maniac. The Prime Minister of India tells the people that the Indian economy will reach \$ 5 trillion. On the one hand, while his bureaucracy seems to be taking a series of measures in New Delhi to boost GDP by focusing on the financial sector, ostensibly to push GDP upwards, Modi has assured NRIs on his foreign trips that there would be security for foreign investments, adequate conditions and facilities to do business freely and no deficit in profits. Contrary to Modi's assurances and hopes, India's economy is in a slump. This slowdown is not limited to the GDP rate and inflation. It is a deep rooted and chronic malaise.

Continuing Economic Crisis :

The present so-called slowdown is characterized by the decelerated growth in most of producing sectors – agriculture, mining and manufacturing and Covid-19 pandemic. The manufacturing sector has not recovered since 2010 despite tall claims like Make in India, Atma Nirbhar Bharat by the BJP government. The Index of industrial production of major industries continued to be meagre or turned negative. Textiles at 8.1%, food products at 0.5%, leather products at -7.9%, paper and its products 2.7%, coke and refined petroleum at 3.5%, chemical products at -5.5%, rubber and plastic products at -9.7%, non-metal mineral products at 8.1%, fabricated metal products at -5.9%, electrical equipments at -15.6%, other machinery and equipment at -13%, motor vehicles at -4.5% and other transport equipment at -11.3%, wood and wooden products at -9.3%, mining at 2.6%, manufacturing at -0.1% and power generation at 2.8%.

The capacity utilization in all manufacturing sectors is below 75% on average. The rail freight traffic is below the past five years' average. The real estate sector is stuck with over seven years stock of unsold buildings. All this is visible since the imposition of demonetization and Goods and Services Tax.

The All India Conference of CPI (ML) held in Sep, 2016 stated, "Every step taken during the period under review was placated as a measure to alleviate the misery of peasants; in reality, used to alienate the peasantry from their lands to promote corporate/contract farming. Thus the alliance of big landlords, big bourgeoisie and imperialism is extracting surplus labour utilizing feudal as well as capitalist market forms of exploitation and throwing the peasantry into pauperisation and suicides."

Due to the distress sale of their produce and debt burden the peasant suicides continue unabated in all the states previously known for peasant suicides. Under BJP rule peasant suicides extended to West Bengal, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Rajasthan along with previous states of AP, Telangana, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Madhya Pradesh.

Faced with the resistance from the people on forcible land acquisition, Modi government withdrew its proposal to amend the Land Acquisition Act 2013 and asked the states to amend as they like. And many states followed suit in the same lines proposed by the BJP government at the centre to make it easy to grab the peasants' lands. This is the nefarious tactic of dissipating the peoples' resistance.

Entering into free trade agreements with imperialist or advanced countries puts the backward countries in most disadvantageous position. Indian government negotiated with FTAs, with the EU and RCEP (The Regional Comprehensive Economic Partnership). The experience of WTO clearly showed that it has immensely harmed the Indian peasantry. There is a critical appraisal and opposition to RCEP that it immediately harms the dairy sector and consequently millions of milk producing peasants. Sensing this opposition Modi announced that the Indian government is withdrawing from the RCEP and pulled out of RCEP on Nov 4th 2019. The reason that the govt. claims is to protect domestic producers but the reality is otherwise. The decision to withdraw from RCEP can be seen as a ploy of submitting to the peoples demand while the pressure from US imperialism, which wants that Indian market should not go near to China, is talked less. India entered into separate FTAs with Australia and New Zealand which are American allies and RCEP member countries.

As the crisis in agriculture allowed to grow unabated, rather intensified by the policies of government, it lead to a lot of resentment and anger among the peasant masses. The rich and middle peasants find their vocal representatives in opposition parties and rallied around them. To assuage the wounded feeling that the farmers were a neglected lot, the BJP government has picked up the slogan of doubling the income of farmers, which remained as a mere slogan. It gave Padma Shri to a practitioner of natural farming, Subhash Palekar placating Zero Budget Natural Farming as a method to double the income of farmers.

The peasant agitation on the borders of Delhi, Punjab, Haryana and UP over the course of the year by the peasants to repeal the three black laws brought by the Central Government in the interests of the imperialists and the big bourgeoisie was able to quell the BJP aggression. The repeal of the three black laws was the result of the united struggling forces overcoming obstacles and mobilizing hundreds of peasants who dedicated their lives for the cause. However, with the repeal of these laws, the problems of the peasantry were not solved. The laws continue to be unofficially enforced in the country.

The wealth creating sectors – agriculture, mining and industry – are limping due to lack of public and private investment. The infrastructure projects that witnessed heavy investments have become a burden on the PSBs (Public sector banks) as more than 60% of their NPAs (Non Performing Assets) were due to infrastructure projects. The bankruptcy of IL&FS (Infrastructure Leasing & Financial Services) illustrated how NBFCs (Non Banking Finance Company) siphoned off the financial resources to vested interests.

So-called Stimulation :

Since the presentation of budget-2019 to the present budget, the BJP government has been announcing a series of measures to supposedly revive ailing economy. Central govt. budgets are formulated with a strong intention to strengthen the imperialist exploitative forces and negating the lives of oppressed which can be seen clearly in the budget allocations to different sectors. During Covid-19 pandemic at a time when the economy is in dire situation and the people are in financial distress, in the name of people's welfare and development of the country many stimulating measures were taken for the benefit of the

exploited sections. Those include scrapping of surcharge on long and short term capital gains, sops in income tax to 'super rich', no penalty on failure to comply with corporate social responsibility and proposal to 'decriminalise' the Companies Act meaning no criminal action will be taken if companies violated the 100 sections of the Act and budget allocation cut for the farmers, no new allocation for the unorganised sector workers and a huge cut in LPG subsidy.

It announced so-called stimulus measures – an investment of Rs. 100 lakh crore on infrastructure, a Rs. 70,000 crore for recapitalization of PSBs and cheaper loans to facilitate property market and auto sector with promise to buy more by the government from auto market. Rs. 20 lakh crore Atmanirbhar Bharat package is announced in the name of boosting the MSMEs, crucial for the manufacturing sector which is severely affected due to corona pandemic, demonitisation and GST. At the same time key public sector undertakings, infrastructure, improved transport facilities, transportation (roads, trains) and all other sectors which are key to surge the country's GDP are cheaply handed over to the big imperialists, big comprador, corporate companies by tall announcements like the Production Linked Incentive (PLI), PM Gatishakti, National Monetisation Pipeline (NMP), Amrit Kaal, Sabka Saath and etc. In the name of 'Ease of Doing Business' as many as 25000 regulations are repealed and 1486 central laws are abolished. The labour laws that are a result of decades of struggle are weakened with the new labour codes. Ruling classes take all sorts of measures to give free hand to the imperialists, big comprador and corporates to plunder the people.

Govt. merged PSBs by combining loss making ones with other PSBs, thus reducing the number of PSBs to 12. The BJP rulers who said that the write-off of farm loans would damage the economy, had written-off 6.83 lakh crore corporate debt in the Rs. 18.28 lakh crore outstanding bad NPAs in banks from 2014 to 2020. Banks are imposing burdens on the people under various names like surcharges and service charges to fill these losses.

The BJP government also announced the relaxation of several rules on single-brand retail, contract manufacturing, coal mining and digital media for FDI. Again it diluted existing 30% domestic sourcing norms for retail trading. It decided to go in for external commercial borrowing and allowing FPI to invest in sovereign bonds.

These measures will not be going to deliver the announced results that is revival of the economy. Tax sops to the rich will further widen the inequalities within the country. Moreover the tax exempted money will flow into speculative market, but not to productive activities. The merger of PSBs will not fill the vacuum created by the shrinkage of banking facilities and removal of development banks. This provides more space for microfinance and NBFCs to fleece the blood of toilers. The government is privatizing the monetary funds from the Govt. and Central banks and gradually promoting crypto-currency as a powerful tool to plunder the common people, promoting the interests of imperialist exploitation. Instead of stimulating the investment domestically, these announcements opened doors fully for the foreign direct investments hallucinating that they will push the growth upwards. This coupled with external commercial borrowings will only increase several times the burden of external debt. This reminds one the policies of 1980s which eventually led to NEP (New

Economic Policy) – euphemistically named to disguise the prostration before the international financial institutions.

The stimulation is only meant to ensure the high profit margins to corporates and not ensure employment to the workers as is evident in the continued practice of retrenchment, work holidays etc.

The ruling classes and their media portray this crisis as a result of lack of capital investment. Lack of investment is not the cause but the effect of the wanton policy of successive governments to withhold public investment in productive sectors. The government reduced public investment in agriculture and spent public funds to create facilities that promote the entry of private capital into agriculture. The same ploy was used to allow the entry of imperialist capital into every sector of Indian economy. To divert the peoples' attention from the repeated failure, the government is placating Zero Budget Natural Farming (ZBNF), Make in India, Mudra loans etc. One can consider a larger economy as valuable only if it delivers more jobs and better services like education and health. The series of policy measures will not deliver the declared objectives of stimulating the economy; but leaves the economy to the imperialist sharks for unhindered plunder.

The semi-feudal and semi-colonial Indian society is in the grip of all-round – economic, social and political – crisis. This crisis is continuing since the transfer of power with periods of exacerbations at regular intervals. This indicates the simmering contradictions that fuel the crisis. The ruling classes have never attempted to resolve these contradictions by destroying feudalism and throwing out imperialism. Rather they strengthened the landlord base both politically and financially and served the interests of imperialism. The task of democratic revolution waits to be fulfilled.

The important dimension of this crisis is growing unemployment and poverty. According to official statistics, 6.5% of males in rural and 6.7% in urban areas, and 12.9% females in rural and 20.4% in urban areas remained unemployed. The country witnessed highest unemployment rate since 1972-73. Agriculture is the largest provider of jobs with 50% of population dependent on it. Between 2011-12 and 2017-18, employment in agriculture came down by 26.7 million.

The industrial sector provides less than 11% of aggregate employment of which more than four-fifths are employed on contract or casual basis. The service sector, currently providing one half of the GDP, has only marginal employment generation. Around 150 million jobs are in the service sector and only 26 million are in the organized sector. The remaining are in the petty production units and self employment which reflects disguised under-employment. India's organized service sector is concentrated in finance, insurance, real estate and business services. Though their contribution to GDP is on the rise, they failed to generate employment to that scale.

The number of vacant posts in the central and state govt. is 60 lakhs. The total employment of CPEs fell by 2.2 lakh between 2011 and 2018. This decline was in "non-executive" cadre. Another disturbing factor is the increase of casual workers from 22.4% to 33.7% during the same period. Now it increased to 37%.

More than 90% of the employment is in the informal sector and people are struggling to survive by toiling in odd jobs. This distress led to worsened poverty; 22 to 29 per cent of population fall below the poverty line. Another manifestation of this, both within and outside the country, is the large scale migration. According to UNDESA (United Nations Department on Economic and Social Affairs) report India topped the list of countries of origin for immigrants across the world with 17.5 million international migrants in 2019 up from 15.9 million in 2015. Everyday, lakhs of young workers migrate to other states and metro cities to eke out a living under wretched conditions.

Impact of Crisis :

During Covid lockdown, millions of migrant workers had to bear untold misery. Unemployment and poverty have ascended and as many as 120 million people are additionally thrown into severe starvation crisis. The impact of growing poverty and unemployment is more on the down trodden and oppressed masses. The crisis is creating a social crisis with old feudal values and customs being strengthened with super added consumer culture of imperialist society.

Adivasis are the worst affected. They are being thrown out of their habitat, and their livelihood-forest, land, water are being forcefully taken away to give way to the imperialists and Indian big bourgeoisie to loot them and the natural resources. It is the adivasis who are paying first for the costs with their lives and livelihoods for every so-called developmental projects. The BJP government is proposing to amend the laws to legalise all this loot.

Young women and men are persecuted and even killed for marrying someone outside the caste. Women suffer various forms of discrimination and oppression. They are super-exploited at work places and in the fields by denying equal pay for equal work. In the name of empowerment of women, they are being subjected to slave like labour in the sweat shops of SEZs and their blood being sucked by the micro finance companies. The modern technology made available as a part of expansion of market for making profits, instead of lightening the burden of women is perpetuating the patriarchal culture as is evident in the killing of girl child in the womb. The intensification of crisis led to greater uncertainties in the lives of people. This coupled with communal and obscurantist propaganda by BJP is perpetuating the oppression of women relegating them to secondary status.

Atrocities and attacks on Dalits are on the rise as in the conditions of growing rural tensions. As the agricultural crisis worsens, its impact is playing havoc with the lives of Dalits who constitute the majority of the rural poor. Despite tall talk of empowerment of Dalits, the employment opportunities are constantly dwindling forcing them to migrate to the cities condemning them to wretched life. Since BJP came to power at the Centre, it's government has targeted Dalits who are asserting their rights. It turned many a campus of universities into testing ground to instil fear among the Dalit youth.

Love Jihad and honour killing has become rampant, many of which are not even come to the knowledge of the people. Dalits live in an atmosphere of continuous threat; even their children are not spared.

The most precious human productive asset of our country is being ruined by the existing social system. It is denying the basic education to our children, and subjecting the labour

to intense exploitation while another section is kept idle partially or fully. Education, from primary to higher level, which imparts training to sustain and develop production, apart from rampant privatization, is being tailored to suit the plunder by the monopolies instead of meeting the needs of our people and country. The online education, NEP-2020 is part of that process. The present higher education system, with all its severe shortcomings is able to create our own scientific base. The reform process that is being designed is to deny whatever scope there existed for independent scientific innovation and development by promoting technology in the name of imparting skills that provide jobs. Thus the engineering education is going to create technology appliers instead of inventors of technology.

During the 2nd wave of Covid-19 pandemic the entire country is devastated and more than 5 lakh people died and more than 4 crore people infected as per official record. The number will be much more in reality. The people ran from pillar to post for saving their lives. There was shortage of beds, oxygen, ventilators, PPE kits, medicines. Millions of people were forced to tackle the problem by themselves. The Covid-19 crisis has shown clearly that privatisation and commercialisation of health care services are a failure. The unscrupulous rulers instead to put this failure in track are devising policies to further destroy public health sector and medical education.

People are being denied medical and health services and are left to the mercy of market forces. The NMC Bill (National Medical Commission Bill) passed by the parliament is going to destroy the concept of a general practitioner and family doctor and turns medical sector into a lucrative business for monopoly finance capital, which is gradually taking over health insurance, hospitals and diagnostic services. The proposed so-called reforms in the medical education will only degrade the medical graduate from being an independent practitioner to that of manager of outpatient clinic operator.

The existing social system is destroying not only human productive forces but also the nature. Deforestation and consequent landslides are causing severe floods. Soil erosion has reached dangerous levels. Groundwater is drying up. The threat of new desert areas looming. Endless greed for profits pollutes water and even air and harms public health. Allowing 100% foreign investment in coal mines will further destroy the vegetation in the forests.

The uneven economic development and consequently the uneven political development are giving rise to many problems. There is no genuine development of nationalities and regions. The national and democratic aspirations of the people are getting expressed in various forms and in various degrees. They are ranging from demands for development of region, language and culture, to separate statehood to self determination. The struggles for national self determination in Kashmir and North eastern states are persisting; the Indian ruling classes are using brutal military force to suppress them with occasional drama of talks to bring them into so-called main stream. Many regions in the country are raising the demand for separate states within the Indian union which are being utilised by the ruling class parties to whip up regional hatreds rather than agreeing to their demand or developing the region.

Abrogation of Article 370 and 35-A :

Kashmir problem has been haunting both the people of India and Pakistan since 1947. It was created by the British colonial power as a bone of contention between the newly formed India & Pakistan so that their domination on the Indian subcontinent continues. The people of Kashmir had never been allowed to decide their fate themselves by the ruling classes of India and Pakistan despite suggestion by the accession treaty and UN resolution to hold plebiscite in Kashmir. Unless suppression of national and democratic aspiration of people of Kashmir is stopped, peace could not be restored in Kashmir.

Instead of respecting the national and democratic aspirations of the people of Kashmir, the BJP government at the centre put an iron heel on them by abrogating Article-370 and 35-A of the constitution tantamount to annexation and degraded its statehood to that of an union territory and divided it into two union territories. Until now, despite the special status enshrined in the constitution to Kashmir the successive governments have denied this status to Kashmir and most of the time the central government is running the administration with major power given to the Army. The abrogation has legalized the rule by the central government and perpetuated it by making Kashmir a union territory.

Two years after the abrogation of Article 370 and Article 35-A, the Prime Minister met with the leaders of 14 political parties of Jammu and Kashmir for 'delimitation exercise and peaceful elections'. All parties have categorically stated that the Assembly or any other elections should be held only after the statehood is restored to Jammu and Kashmir. After this meeting the arrests, detention and repression on the people and the leaders is still continuing. Recently irrespective of the aspirations of people and leaders, commission gave the report on reorganization of Constituencies. Regardless of the interests of the people of Jammu and Kashmir, the BJP ruling class are burning Kashmir issue for their own political interests and the interests of the exploitative classes.

Divide and Rule :

Apart from deepening the communal division, the BJP government at the centre has other motivations. Showing J&K as the precedent it can abrogate V-Schedule of the constitution which provided special protections to adivasi areas in order to hand over the forest lands and rich mineral resources to the finance capital. Using any pretext like curbing terrorism, the centre may at any time degrade any state to the Union Territory status.

The National registration of citizenship in Assam is being utilized once again to divide the people on the basis of locals and outsiders apart from targeting Muslims. The announced policy of BJP to extend NRC to other states indicates the ulterior motives of BJP government and the Indian ruling classes. The harrowing experience that the people had been gone through has to be repeated throughout India to perpetuate the division of people.

The Parliament has passed the Citizenship Amendment Bill though there is a stiff opposition both inside and outside the parliament. This Act discriminates the Muslims by excluding them from claiming citizenship of India while residing for nearly seven decades here. It also discriminates people from other countries who migrated because of persecution there. This Act has been pushed with the aim of further dividing the people on

communal as well as regional basis. The BJP rulers viciously resorted to repression and attacks on agitations and protests for the repeal of these laws.

The ruling classes had been using nefarious 'divide and rule' policy as a method to divide and oppress the people. They are using regional, caste and religious differences to rake up hatred so as to divide the people and liquidate their unity. The ruling class cliques used regional sentiments among the Telugu-speaking people for over a decade to divert them from the real issues and the struggle for them. They raked up caste feelings among the dalit castes so as to make them as the followers of either one of the ruling groups.

The most nefarious acts the ruling classes resorted to is the raking up of communal hatreds among different religious people. While the BJP employed naked and open methods of raking up communal chauvinism, the Congress used concealed and soft methods. Emboldened with the Gujarat carnage, the BJP and RSS have spread rumours and lies to rake up sentiments and hatreds against Muslim community to ascend to the seat of power. This is evident to see in the Hijab issue, Delhi riots, JNU attacks, Lakhimpur Kheri incident, Gyanvapi issue and other such incidents. With coming to the power, BJP and RSS made the communalist propaganda as a part of political discourse. Yet, the toiling masses of India, who have several centuries of living in communal harmony, have proved time and again that they will not allow the communal forces to destroy their lives.

Instead of keeping the religion outside the affairs of the state, which is the norm with in a democratic system, the ruling classes of India are doing everything to polarize the society on communal lines. Under the wings of BJP government, the RSS and its outfits are raking up communal hatreds. Spewing hatred against non-Hindus became the order of the day. The frequent statements like calling those not following Ram as illegitimate child, calling madarasas as dens of terrorism, asserting that the population of Muslims is rapidly increasing and therefore Hindu women should produce four children, those who eat beef should go to Pakistan to live, depicting Hindi as the language of Hindus and Urdu as the language of Muslims etc are being hurled on the people from the highest positions.

Carrot and Stick :

The deterioration of living and working conditions has led to the unrest and resentment among the people and on many occasions they are taking to the path of struggle. During the first term of rule BJP government announced many populist schemes to sow illusions among the people viz *Jan Dhan Yojana*, *Jeevan Jyothi Bheema Yojana* and others. It announced another health cover scheme replacing the existing urban and rural health missions. The onus of implementing many schemes was placed on the state governments. In the first budget of its second term the Finance Minister with held the details from public and confined the finer details of financial allocations and expenditure to an elite circle. It announced to take steps to benefit farmers from e-NAM, form 10,000 farm producer organizations, support to bamboo and timber for generating renewable energy, ZBNF and scheme for fishing and fishermen, as a part of doubling the income of farmers. Yet the allocations for social schemes remained more or less same as last year. Most of these schemes are only meant to sow illusions among the people. For example, the BJP promised *Har Ghar Jal* piped water for all rural houses and allocated Rs. 8,500 crore but spent only

Rs. 5,500 crore. For the year 2019 the allocation for this scheme was raised to Rs. 10,000 crore. Yet Nirmala Seetharaman says that the government will allow the funds exclusively used for forest development be diverted to rural water supply schemes.

Unable to solve not even a single problem of the people the ruling classes are unleashing brutal repression on the people. They are no longer able to rule by the law and resorting to unconstitutional methods to repress the people by using draconian laws like Sedition Act, UAPA, MESA, ESMA and NSA and etc. The repressive situation prevailing in Kashmir after the abrogation of Article 370 and 35-A reveal that they can go to any extent in unleashing repression to sustain their exploitative rule. The fascistic tendencies are growing in the polity – sometimes naked and another times in disguised forms – are only meant to save the exploitation and domination of imperialism and their compradors. The BJP government is blatantly using fascistic methods of propaganda and repression to serve the interests of imperialist finance capital. The raking up of communal chauvinism is only part of this game.

In the Service of US Imperialism :

Since India and US formed a “Global Strategic Partnership” in 2009, the Indian big bourgeoisie has inclined more towards US imperialism. As a continuation of this, India allowed to use its military facilities and ports by the US military under the Logistic Exchange Memorandum of Agreement signed in August 2016. Since coming to power in 2014, Narendra Modi government and BJP unabashedly declared that Washington is a strategic ally of India. It turned India into a frontline state in the hegemonic designs of US imperialism in Asia and Indian Ocean. It joined the trilateral military ties with US, Japan and Australia. The ‘Quad’ is part of the US strategy of tying India to US imperialist hegemonic policies and drag India into a state of conflict.

The Indian ruling classes have regional hegemonic ambitions nurtured by imperialism. India used to take up some of the tasks of US imperialist wars in the Middle-East in a hope of getting some contracts in the reconstruction of war ravaged countries, while the US imperialism established its hegemony over the oil resources and on copper, gold and iron ores in the Hindu Kush range. It reduced oil imports from Iran as dictated by the US imperialism. US is threatening to impose sanctions on those countries having trade relations with Russia. The BJP government until now has not dared to criticize this policy.

Political Situation and Political Organisations :

The economic crisis is leading to political crisis. The contradictions among the ruling groups have sharpened. The contradictions among ruling class factions also got sharpened. As a result many scams and corruption of the ruling elite have come to light. The ruling classes used their identity – caste, religion, region and family etc. – only to safeguard their financial position. In this process the ruling classes pushed the theories of identities on the people. The negative effects of which could be seen in some sections of the downtrodden people. Religious beliefs and practices are being promoted by the ruling class parties and some parties also came into existence on the basis of religion in the wake of elections.

For a long time, the BJP was equating British colonial rule with the Muslim rule of medieval period. While colonial rule drained India of its wealth, it remained in the country during the

medieval period. This is meant to obfuscate the exploitative role of colonial rule as well as that of imperialism now. BJP used this to rake up national chauvinism against Muslims while sidelining the exploitation and domination of imperialism on the country.

In this situation of crisis, both internal and external, national and international, ruling classes needed a government which can rule by iron fists and enforce the neo-liberal economic and political agenda vigorously. The BJP with its fascist ideology was the ideal choice among the ruling class parties, and the US imperialists were best suited to provide necessary backing.

To enforce the neo-liberal policy in economic, political and cultural field, all hitherto norms of governance, ideas of so-called welfare state (which is known as Keynesian policy adopted after Great Depression to oppose the spread of socialism and socialist economy) and constitutional democracy are not only to be undermined, but also trampled upon. It is known that the father of neo-liberal economy, Friedrich Hayek, Pinochet presented an ideal model.

It is not just an economic model, but an ideology itself to force in “free market and open trade” in the condition of 21st Century imperialism. This means opening up of the weaker economies for loot and plunder. This can be best applied in a fascist condition. The BJP government is continuously trying to push the country towards fascism. But as we have discussed in our programme, with the crisis contradictions amongst ruling classes, contradictions among imperialists in this country, and above all the principal contradiction between the alliance of imperialism, comprador bureaucratic capital and feudalism on the one side and people of India on the other are increasing. These are acting as impedances against the BJP’s effort to establish fascism. Peasant movement at the Delhi border and the support it gained from all over India is an example how BJP’s effort to establish fascism is being weakened.

At the same time uneven development – economic, political as well as cultural—has brought certain regional startups to power with the help of regional reactionaries. As they have aspirations to get slices in the central power they do not have basic differences on political and economic questions and ready put ideology in the back seat. They make alliance with the party ruling at the centre or with others to oppose the ruling party according to their advantage. But often this creates a heterogeneity detrimental to establishing fascism.

So while being vigilant against BJP’s conspiracy to push the country towards the quagmire of fascism, we should not over emphasise the danger of fascism by making electoral alliance with any and sundry and loosen our class actions. We shall have to cautiously analyze the situation and act accordingly keeping the class interest at the helm.

In February 2019, just before the elections to Parliament, the BJP raked up national chauvinism by using terrorist attack at Pulwama. The government claimed that Indian Air Force bombed Jaish-e-Mohammed camp at Balakot in Pakistan and killed 300 terrorists. Along with it the release of IAF pilot captured by Pakistan was used to silence the opposition in the din of national and communal chauvinist propaganda. The main opposition party had no other course than joining the chorus of national chauvinism. This was the major

political factor that catapulted BJP into power with thumping majority. Many doubts were expressed at that time on the veracity of Phulwama and Balakot incidents. From the statements of the then Army Chief Bipin Rawat it can be inferred that they were stage managed. It is clear that the BJP stage managed these incidents to rake up national chauvinism with the aim of winning elections.

In this connection one has to take note of the disgusting fact that both the print and electronic media made a complete surrender to Narendra Modi. Being owned by the big bourgeoisie, the media became the mouth piece of them and tomtomed every move of big bourgeoisie as mantra for development of people. It supported every anti-people and anti-national step by the government of Narendra Modi as nationalism, patriotism etc. Even it changed its vocabulary when it began to call the communal and reactionary forces as Hindu nationalists, knowing very well that spreading communal hatred has nothing to do with national interests and goes against the ethos of Indian people living for centuries in communal harmony.

The BJP's role of fishing in the troubled waters after the death of Jayalalitha, using Tamil chauvinism, splitting AIADMK and using the Income tax raids to cripple the leadership had not resulted in gaining foothold in Tamil Nadu for BJP. It attempted to incite communalism and communal hatred to gain a foothold in Kerala using the issue of women's entry into Sabarimala temple. The election results showed that the people of Kerala rejected this ploy of BJP.

After coming to power for second term, the BJP's nefarious role in throwing Karnataka into political turmoil is well known. Now it is trying to gain politically in Telangana using the KCR's method of decimating the opposition. BJP is taking in all persons from various parties into its fold and placating it as its strength. In AP it dilly dallied with TDP, but found it difficult to gain politically from it. Now it is pampering YCP government to make inroads into AP. It is creating trouble to BJD government in Odisha. It is trying to mow down the Mamata Banerjee of TMC in West Bengal. It is supporting various organizations under the garb of religious functions and spreading not only anti-Muslim sentiment but also all the obscurantist ideas. It will go to any extent to spread its wings into the states of southern India.

The judgment of the Supreme Court on Babri Masjid which is partisan and based on the religious belief rather than historic evidence has betrayed the hopes of people of India. The issue of so-called Ram Mandir continues to haunt the people and would be utilized by the communal forces to perpetuate the communal division whenever they wanted. We call upon the people not to fall prey to these machinations of the communal forces and call upon our ranks to be constantly vigilant against nefarious games of the Hindu communal forces.

Some of the bourgeois parties BJP, Congress, parties erupted from Congress, like Sharad Pawar Congress, Trinamool Congress, YSR Congress, Kerala Congress, some of the Hindu Dharma parties associated to BJP and organizations like RSS, Shiv Sena; Socialist ideological parties that have emerged from Janata Party - Mulayam Singh, Nitish Kumar, Lalu Prasad Yadav's parties, Sikh ideological parties in Punjab for Punjabi Subha and Punjabi

ideology; the Aam Aadmi Party which was born with the anti-Corruption slogan, Bahujan Samaj party born out of a Dalit perspective, Parties like DMK, AIADMK, TDP, TRS, which were born with the slogan of self respect for Tamils, self-respect of Telugu people, development of the people of Telangana are all defenders of the interests of imperialism, the comprador bourgeoisie, and the affluent feudal classes and the reactionary politics of India. They not only protect but practice the superstitious and stringent feudal customs and ideology. They constantly and consciously divert from their genuine struggles and obstruct the people's movement. When people outraged by the policies and actions of the ruling classes mobilise into struggles, they seek to divert and suppress the people with their authoritative power. The class nature of all these is the same, the foundation of all these is - plunder of the people with feudal and capitalist exploiting policies. No matter how many constant squabbles between them, they are not for the interests of the country or the interests of the proletarians. But for domination for share in wealth and competition for ownership over the wealth. Communist revolutionaries do not need to look for which of these parties is better and which is more progressive. The nature of all these bourgeois parties must be ascertained from the perspective of class struggle.

Left parties CPI and CPM have reached the mental state that they are a part of the bourgeois machinery. Though the goal of achieving socialism is expressed in their writings and speeches, they feel its better to talk as little as possible about the perspective of proletarian class struggle. Left parties have been campaigning and agitating according to their reformist concept on issues such as workers' rights, peasants rights, dalit rights, women's rights, retrenchments, unemployment and privatization. Despite speaking on issues such as language, religion, ethnicity, exploitation of corporates, and the expulsion of peasants (displacement) from their lands, they consider BJP as the main enemy among the bourgeois parties and join hands with other bourgeois parties considering the fight against BJP as a fight for some administrative positions. They have to be considered as social-democratic parties as they express achieving socialism and democracy is their aim. These parties are not based on Marxist-Leninist ideology and moreover are preaching to revise and apply them creatively according to timeward. Political ideological unity with these parties is not possible. For the communist revolutionaries, there is no scope for face-to-face ideological discussions with these parties. But instead there will be a political ideological struggle with them. Even they consider us as a Party who work together in joint action with issues of consensus. To that extent, as proletarian class revolutionaries we have to maintain friendly relations with these parties.

Communist revolutionaries have been working since 1967 to build a people's revolution for the liberation of the masses of India. Five decades have passed. Centralized efforts have been made in many areas and received acclaim. People were relieved of their hardships. They gave consciousness to people to face the exploitative feudal lords to stand tall and head up. Although the communist revolutionaries adopted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Thought as their ideology, they, on the contrary, many times followed polices against the ideology and suffered severe losses. In situations where a unity in action needs to be established through reasonable discussions on a number of issues, adopted extreme

criticism on one another that are mutually detrimental which led to serious losses rather than bringing them closer. As revolutionaries we have to examine our own practices. There should be joint actions, unity discussions and sharing of contents through cordial exchange. Writing in a friendly way of ideological views, criticisms, a positive atmosphere must be created for political ideological discussions among the Revolutionaries. During these five decades of intense conflict between the revolutionaries and physical attacks the mutual losses and number of comrades lost are not trifle.

The ever deepening political and economic crisis in India and in the world has been providing good opportunities to the CRs to build a revolutionary movement and lead the people to more decisive revolutionary battles to achieve the much cherished goal of New Democratic Revolution in India. But the revolutionary movement will not come by itself. It must be prepared for and built. And only a strong proletarian revolutionary party can prepare for and lead the people to win the victory. The absence of such a party continues to be serious weakness even today. The building of proletarian revolutionary party by uniting all genuine revolutionaries is our task.

Moreover it must be remembered that just analysing the situation is not enough, the need is to change the situation. One way it is a fabulous situation. The ruling classes are fighting with one another constantly. Their parties at the centre and the states are vying with one another for power. People are rising up spontaneously to resist the onslaughts on them creating a situation when any attempt the ruling cliques to maintain balance is getting upset. This is a situation where the ruling classes are being forced to take tough decisions—economically, politically, administratively, even militarily.

For the Communist revolutionaries it is their task to apply and implement the programme and path for revolution in accordance of the concrete situation, continuously developing the forces. Building an agrarian revolutionary movement with the slogan of 'land to the tiller' is the fore most task of the revolutionaries. These struggles be combined with other main task of building the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggles.

We should make serious efforts to develop alliance of CRs, Left and Democratic forces to oppose fascist attacks on the people by the ruling classes and their political parties.

For annihilation of caste and social inequalities, economical and political disparities, firstly we must critically analyze the constitution in regard to social inequalities and some reforms implemented by the government. Also analyse the struggle and approach of progressive Dalit movements who want liberal socialism and who want scientific socialism.

Awaken the en mass of people to achieve the following basic tasks and organise the people's struggles on the following demands:

Basic Tasks :

- 1. To fight against each and every conspiracy of the imperialists against the people and oppressed nations.**
- 2. To enhance our own struggles against imperialism such that it may add to the development of the principal contradiction in the international arena.**
- 3. To study the socialist forces more deeply e.g. North Korea, Venezuela, Cuba, Columbia etc.**

- 4. All the rural poor should struggle for the implementation of revolutionary land reforms with the 'land to the tiller' as the central slogan.**
- 5. Nationalise all the foreign capital and do away with imperialists and comprador capital conspiracy to control agriculture.**
- 6. Encourage national industries.**
- 7. To fight to overthrow imperialism and its cohorts from our own country and support the struggles of people all over the world in their fight against imperialism.**

Immediate Tasks:

- 1. Oppose US imperialist attack on Syria.**
- 2. Oppose US interference in Venezuela and Bolivia.**
- 3. No one has right to play war games with the lives of people.**
- 4. Oppose the war, both sides must agree for peace immediately.**
- 5. Solidarity with anti-imperialist and national struggles of the people of world.**
- 6. Oppose corporatisation of agriculture.**
- 7. Oppose forceful land acquisition in the name of development.**
- 8. Link the fight against fascist ideas, fascist forces and even fascist danger with the anti-imperialist and democratic struggles of the masses.**
- 9. Oppose FDI into defence, coal and railways.**
- 10. Oppose selling away of PSUs.**
- 11. Oppose the four codes of labour aimed at suppressing and oppressing workers.**
- 12. Oppose National Registration of Citizenship and Constitution amendment Act.**
- 13. Solidarity with the movement for protection of environment.**
- 14. Oppose the use of places of worship by the divisive communal forces.**
- 15. Oppose all forms of religious chauvinism.**
- 16. Oppose commercialisation of health and medical services.**
- 17. Oppose privatisation of education.**
- 18. Oppose the degradation of higher education to skill development.**
- 19. Oppose feudal and imperialist culture that degrades and oppresses women.**
- 20. Oppose discrimination and oppression of dalits and caste system.**
- 21. Oppose the alienating policies being implemented against adivasis.**
- 22. Oppose persecution and discrimination of religious and national minorities.**
- 23. Oppose the fascist measures being resorted to by the ruling classes.**

**Central Committee,
CPI (ML)**